1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the ox-carts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Farmers' Association has problems. The farmer who grows rice as his second crop must save some of his rice from the November harvest in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer for the first rice crop in February or March. If this rice is stored it is in constant danger from rodents, but if the farmer eats or sells his rice, he must then buy rice in the spring at the higher off-season price, in order to make the 40 percent payment for the fertilizer needed in February or March.

A larger problem concerns the association's role in collecting the farmers' rice for the Food Bureau. (This same problem arises when the farmer makes payment in rice after the harvest for land tax, land reform land, and the enforced rice sale to the government. This will be discussed later.) In order to deliver his rice to the Farmers' Association almost three miles from Hsin Hsing, the farmer must either use an oxcart or make several trips by bicycle. To save time and energy, he may hire an oxcart if he does not own one. The rice will not be accepted by the Farmers' Association (acting for the Food Bureau) if it is not dry enough. If this happens, the farmer must take his rice home again and dry it further.

Today, some people in the area who own oxcarts and who have enough capital to maintain large stores of dry rice make it a business to take over the full responsibility of delivering the farmers' rice to the Farmers' Association in acceptable condition. These people obtain the names of farmers and the amount of rice they owe to the government from the Farmers' Association. They then pick up the rice of the willing farmer and give him a guarantee, in the form of a receipt, specifying that the businessman agrees to take over the farmer's responsibility for the rice payment. If the farmer's rice is not dry enough, the agent can then use his own rice stores to make payment. The charge to the farmer for this service is 5 percent in kind of the rice delivered. Many farmers use this service in order to relieve their anxiety over the possible refusal of their rice and also to eliminate the problem of finding a means of delivery.

Still other problems face the farmer under the government's system of fertilizer distribution. When the farmer acquires his fertilizer through the Farmers' Association, he must take the kinds and amounts of fertilizer being sold, regardless of what he would like or thinks he needs. And, in order to buy the ammonium sulphate fertilizer which is necessary for the rice crops, the Hsin Hsing area farmer must also buy a good deal of nitrogen calcium (known as "black fertilizer") which is used mainly for sugarcane and sweet potatoes. The farmers in southern Taiwan, who grow more sugarcane, must take the ammonium sulphate as well as the nitrogen calcium fertilizer. The result is that many farmers in each area sell the fertilizer they do not need to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 654 437 fertilizer merchants at a loss. The merchants then transport it to the area in which that type of fertilizer is in demand; there it is sold in local feed and fertilizer shops at a slightly higher price than at the Farmers' Association.

241 437 65 Large numbers of farmers are affected by the results of their false claims that they will grow rice in their fields in order to be allowed to purchase fertilizer at the Farmers' Association. These false reports also affect government economic statistics. The reports made to the Farmers' Association on the amount of land surface to be planted in rice are one of the important bases used by the provincial government's Food Bureau in estimating the annual Taiwanese rice production. The official rice price mentioned earlier is determined annually by the Food Bureau according to this estimate and then is approved by the Provincial Assembly. However, since so many farmers report an intention to plant more rice than they actually intend to, the estimate regularly tends to be greater than the actual production, and as a consequence the official rice price is usually considerably lower than the market price, which is dependent upon the actual rice supply.

241 437 65 435 The difference between the official and the market prices of rice has a definite and detrimental effect on the farmers. The landowner pays a land tax for paddy land in rice which must be delivered to the Farmers' Association. In addition, the provincial government's Food Bureau requires each farmer to sell a certain amount of rice to the government at the official rice price. The additional amount of rice due is added to the land tax bill, and the farmer receives a cash payment for it at a later date. This amount of rice is directly proportional to the amount of the land tax paid in rice. Thus, for every "14.16 kilograms" (about 23.4 *chin*) of rice paid in land tax, the farmer must sell "12 kilograms" (about 19.8 *chin*) of rice to the government at the official rice price, which may be as low as 70 percent of the market price.

A number of illiterate farmers in the Hsin Hsing area do not realize that they are selling rice to the government at this lower official price. Some of them are under the impression that the money they later receive from the Food Bureau is a rebate due them because they sent in too much rice for their land tax. Apparently, no one has explained the procedure to them.

[204] Regarding this procedure, Ko Kuo-chi, a Provincial Assemblyman, in the January 1, 1958, issue of *Tzu Chih Tsa Chih, Self-Government Magazine*, sharply criticized the government's Food Bureau for the price it had decided to pay the farmers for their rice. He noted that the government was paying the farmer only NT $97.80 per 100 *chin* of rice, while on the market the farmer could obtain NT $130 for the same 100 *chin*.

The government policy has the effect of a virtual attempt to force

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ing each tiny share of land separately in its owner's name at the Land Office, "it was decided that all plots of land under joint ownership would be classified under the names of all the joint owners, and not under the names of each owner separately" (T'ang, 1954:100). By this system, then, the land was recorded as joint land under the name of one person who acted as legal representative for all the joint owners. Even in Japanese times the government did not interfere in this system, and the representative was supposed to see to the regular payment of the farmland tax for all the joint owners.

TABLE 24

AREA OF PRIVATE LAND UNDER INDIVIDUAL, JOINT, AND CORPORATE OWNERSHIP IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Area in *chia* of cultivated land	Percent	Area in *chia* of house, land, and road	Percent	Total of each type of land area owned	Percent of total private land
Individual	11.1006	34.1	0.3946	1.2	11.4952	35.3
Joint	17.9196	55.1	2.0768	6.4	19.9964	61.5
Corporate	0.5365	1.6	0.5195	1.6	1.0560	3.2
Total	29.5567	90.9	2.9909	9.1	32.5476	100.0

Regarding the reasons for the existence for so much joint-ownership land in Taiwan, T'ang (1954:101–102) writes:

> The causes that have given rise to joint ownership are three: reclamation of land through common efforts in the early history of Taiwan; joint purchase of land; and inheritance of ancestral landed property by brothers. . . . The landowners themselves preferred joint to individual ownership in order to avoid the incidental troubles of subdivision, surveying, and the red tape of transfers. Under such circumstances, it frequently happened that a piece of land originally under individual ownership might come to be jointly owned when it was transferred or inherited; and that a piece of land originally under joint ownership might have a larger number of joint owners as time went on. The number of joint owners of a plot of land varies from three or five to scores or hundreds of persons. This state of affairs not only is a positive hindrance to cadastral management, but also obstructs land improvement and gives rise to innumerable disputes.

The forms that joint ownership take in Hsin Hsing seem to correlate with T'ang's explanation of the causes that have given rise to it. For example, most of the house land in Hsin Hsing is land jointly held among relatives. There are also instances in Hsin Hsing where the land is listed under the representative name of a Hsin Hsing villager, but the joint owners are farmers from neighboring villages as well as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[8] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

The
423 amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to
• 651 the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade 12 or 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value.
[435] The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

311 As pointed out in the section on topography, San-
243 lei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

175 As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around
423 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in
311

427 .17 chia of paddy field from the barber. The absentee landlord is relatively rare, often a former villager who migrated to the city.

123 Sanlei villagers also own land outside the village
423 but we were only permitted to check official records inside the village boundaries of Sanlei and Erhlei. It is difficult to obtain accurate figures through interviews since there is a fear of tax increases. As a result, the disparity between villagers' reports and official holdings was striking. Records of outside holdings kept being refined all during the study by following men to work in the fields. People would reveal more about their neighbors' holdings than their own.

423 Some of the categories and grades are inaccurately
127 recorded on official records. No piece is overgraded be-
• 651 cause the township land official is contacted to report losses, i.e., caused by erosion, in order to have the taxes reduced. On the other hand, improved land is not called to the attention of officials. Some of the dry land is really paddy land and some of the mountain land is now dry
[654] land with orange orchards or tea fields. Over a four year period there was a Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction (J.C.R.R.) and farmers' association sponsored soil conservation program for mountain land. When a farmer constructed proper terracing, he was rewarded with United
[651] States surplus flour. Only about 60% of the mountain-land

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land
• [651] would be given a higher grade resulting in increased taxes. Although reassessment has still not occurred, non-participants keep saying it soon will.

Irrigation

132 Rainfall in northern Taiwan is reasonably adequate
133 every month of the year. There are small mountains running parallel to the village on each side with a small
312 stream down the middle. The mountains produce a considerable water run-off which is channeled to the paddy fields where needed. Only about once every seven or eight years is there a serious shortage of water but there are slight shortages yearly in June and July. There are no water irrigation associations because there is so much surplus water and so many places that it can be tapped, that the small short channels are maintained informally by farmers in the few fields using each source. Only once in fifteen months did we observe a conflict over water levels in spite of these extremely informal arrangements. However, children get in trouble when they play in the fields and break down the barriers and let water fall below requisite levels.

Rice

243 Paddy fields are considered to be the most valuable
311 kind of agricultural land. From the earliest inception of

231 The biggest investment is in pigs which are expensive animals. Forty-four households own 113 pigs, one household with fourteen, one six, one five, and the rest, three or less. Typically, a farm household raises one or two at a time in pens with a thatched roof attached to the house or in a nearby open building with a thatched [435] roof. Pigs are fed rice chaf, scraps, sweet potatoes including leaves, and compressed soy bean curd cakes ($195.00 each) which are purchased from the peddler who comes through the village three times a week.

There is a butchering place for pigs in Pouti, about half way down the road to Hsin Tien which serves an area including about 900 families, nearly all rural (see Figure 1). About eight or nine pigs are slaughtered daily. On the first and fifteenth of the month, twice as many are slaughtered (see Chapter IX) and on festival occasions, 231 there may be many more. Before a pig can be slaughtered, • 651 it is necessary to purchase a permit the previous day from the township office in Hsin Tien at a cost of $340.00, reduced $5.00 if the pig is for home consumption rather than sale. For a very big festival, the township office will send a clerk to the village to collect the tax. The pig is taken on a hand-hauled cart to Pouti early in the morn- [625] ing for slaughtering. A policeman is available there to 231 take the permit and officially stamp the pig. The best weight for slaughtering is 180 <u>chin</u> although 200 <u>chin</u> is

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[369] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
[433 $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
651] was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
[648] the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[585] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

632 registration, village records and the draft. He assists the mayor in maintaining records and visits Talei Li once or twice each week. Most li secretaries are young and reasonably well educated. Talei Li's current secretary is a young normal-school graduate having completed two years of college.

651 626 653 In spite of the above formal procedures, there are still elements of traditional local control. Taxes are raised rigorously with legal penalties for non-payment much like they are in the United States but there are significant differences on another level. For example, the li needed a major repair to a bridge and the li school required an additional classroom. Procedures for acquiring these items were identical, a combination of formal and informal taxation. Out of the regular taxes, higher level government units agreed to match locally-raised money to pay for the items. After much investigation and analysis and many community meetings, a certain sum was declared to be required for each project. The mayor and lin chang distributed assessments to village households on the basis of wealth and ability to pay. There is no fixed basis for this distribution. The committee talks about who can pay what based on their reputation and since everyone knows a lot about each other's financial situation, this is fairly easy. The general analysis is based on land holdings, size of family, and income, but special

651 allowances are made for those who have had a heavy recent
653 expense such as a wedding. The range of assessments was
626 from $2.00 to $100.00.

The lin chang collected the money and gave it to the mayor to deliver to the government. This was all done informally, i.e., no legal pressure could be brought on an individual who refused to contribute. There would be community pressure for by refusing to cooperate a man would be failing his neighbors. In a close-knit community, one never knows when cooperation is needed; a poor man needs employment, and a rich man must hire laborers and at critical periods, the area has a slight to severe labor shortage.

746 Some social welfare support trickles into the com-
797 munity from outside through various governmental levels and even through missionary groups which distribute United States government surplus. Other welfare is on the basis of kinship. However, the local community does assume limited responsibility for its own indigent on a community basis as previously described. There is a proverb, "A good neighbor may be more important than a distant relative" (see Glossary C).

The Farmers' Association

494 The Farmers' Association is a quasi-governmental
241 unit which operates as an important link between farmers

625 and it thus is a unifying force since there are presently
632 55 members, 18 of them from Sanlei. As stated, Sanlei often mounts its own patrol in periods when the li patrol is not active. The fact that Sanlei is the only li village that mounts this extra patrol supports my contention that Sanlei is more integrated.

Corvee

663
• 651 There has been a tradition in China of using local labor for civic works, road repair, bridge construction, public building maintenance, etc. Local villagers are
653 assessed so many days of service per year. The system of
648 corvee was continued under the Japanese but was quite harsh for every adult male had to contribute a heavy amount of labor every year. The work might be performed locally, but some men were conscripted into work groups and taken from the village for two-week periods, usually to dig ditches or work on road maintenance. During World War II, several village men were conscripted into Japanese labor battalions. One village man worked at the American prisoner of war camp near Taipei. Several li men were taken to other islands under Japanese control: two went to the Philippines and were returned by the Americans after the end of the war. Their earnings were in Japanese Yen and are still on deposit in a Japanese bank and will not be returned until after treaty negotiations between the Republic of China and Japan are

653 concluded although the enormous post-war decrease in the
648 value of the Yen has made the savings minuscule.

653 The system of corvee labor has continued under the
• 651 Chinese Nationalists but is now considered to be much more equitable. Labor is still required but the load is light and accomplished only in the immediate area of Talei Li. Moreover, it is possible to buy your way out of the
[465] required labor. Since $10.00 is recognized as the equal of a full day's corvee labor while $50.00 constitutes a normal day's wages, the work can be seen to be considered very light. The rich tea owner and processor previously discussed does no corvee work but his $10.00 contributions are used for the material which might be required such as nails.

Nevertheless, it is desired that everyone possible work on corvee projects. Most villagers respond to the appeals which are made to civic pride and do participate. The work projects are treated almost as a game for no man
653 works very hard. Since a villager accumulates a day's
461 corvee labor credit for working on any project either for
651 a day or until it is completed whichever is less, most projects are overloaded with workers and each man contributes little labor. For example, a foot bridge was built across the creek when the water was quite high from the winter floods. The Li Chang (mayor) and I estimated that the bridge could have been completed in a single day by three or four men. However, twenty-six village men worked

653 on the bridge and each achieved credit for a day's corvee
461 work. They often got in each other's way, i.e., I watched
• 651 four men struggling to carry a single bamboo pole which one man could have carried in one hand without much effort.

There is a latent effect which may be evident to village leaders and political officials. Men are able to do "good" for the community without strain and since the work is always confined to their own area, they can see the completed job regularly. Although no one person's contribution to each job amounts to very much, the completed project is useful and worthwhile. For example, the bridge described above saved up to half a mile walk to the next closest foot bridge. Men work together cooperatively in a large group, the only large work groups ever seen in the village. Finally, because of the great excess of men over what is reasonably needed for a job, there is much time for joking and friendly conversation. Although only men do corvee labor, women always gather to watch and pass remarks so that in essence, every corvee job we observed in the village was a gay occasion.